



Paris Masses Shake Corrupt French Regime

Latest Developments in the N.Y. Hotel Strike

Latest developments in the strike of the New York hotel and restaurant workers, as we go to press, include the following:

On Monday, 4,000 strikers, their wives and children, surrounded the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in an imposing mass picket demonstration. After a short time, police suddenly attacked the pickets with brutal violence, knocking down organizer Costas whose seizure was prevented by the workers. Many workers were cruelly beaten, and one woman was arrested. Tony Tarcentino was badly beaten over the head.

On the same night, a mass demonstration around the Casino de Paree came into conflict with hired gangsters and city police. In the ensuing fight, doors and windows of the establishment were badly damaged by the enraged workers.

On Tuesday, union representatives met with Mrs. Herrick of the local Labor Board of the NRA, who

insolently rebuffed the men and revealed that her institution had their sympathies definitely with the hotel bosses.

A scandal was caused in the dining room of the aristocratic Waldorf-Astoria when a number of patrons rose to appeal for solidarity with the strikers. Hired thugs of the management beat them up and threw them out of the hotel.

Thursday's press reports that officials of two A. F. L. locals, 1 and 2, have instructed their members not to take scab jobs in houses struck by the Amalgamated. In striking contrast to the scab tactics of officials of Local 18, this action reflects the demands of rank and file A. F. L. members for solidarity with their Amalgamated brothers.

A number of organizations have announced their refusal to hold planned dinners in hotels on the union's strike list.

Reaction in Power with Dumergue

France, whose bourgeois statesmen and philosophers have latterly enjoyed feelings of superiority to the country which submits to Hitler, trembles on the brink of epoch-making changes. Rising to a higher pitch than on any occasion since the glorious days of the Commune, the resentment of the exploited French masses has broken out into openly anti-governmental, anti-state demonstrations. To halt the determined ranks of embittered workers and middle class demonstrators from invading the Chamber of Deputies, the Daladier government ordered its police and militia to fire upon unarmed men, women and children. Immediately thereafter, having been in office eleven days, the Daladier government resigned.

While Dumergue tries to build a new union sacree, a holy alliance of reactionaries to suppress the indignant masses of France, rioting continues in the streets of every important French city. France "the most bourgeois country in the world", despite the hopes of its bankers, was unable to escape the world economic crisis which has mobilized class against class in bitter conflict in every capitalist country. Similarly, it has been unable to escape the transformation of this economic crisis into a deep governmental crisis.

Mases and the Crisis The events of the last few days, sensational though they are, should not obscure the meaning of the general political crisis affecting the country. Through the depression, the capitalists of France have steadily cut down the real income and standard of living of the masses of the French population. The patriotic French peasant has seen prices for farm products tumble. The middle class has been squeezed by French monopoly capital, while civil servants and workers on government-owned or controlled industries have suffered severe cuts in wages. The working class as a whole has shared the miseries which the capitalists of the world have forced upon all proletarians.

While cutting the wages of its employees, the French government has not hesitated to pack its budget with huge appropriations for war materials. Behind the budgetary struggles there has raged a political difference within the capitalist class, reflecting different interests and varying theories as to how best to preserve capitalism.

French heavy industry, led by the Comité des Forges (steel trust), and certain banks (Credit Lyonnais) desires to organize the attack against the Soviet Union. Tardieu is the political chief of these brigands. In their train march all the expropriated share-owners of French factories in Russia (Putilov steel and others) as well as the organized emigre Russian Whites now living in France. The commercial banks, export houses and petty bourgeois interests, constitute the second current. These elements seek to exploit the democratic sentiments of the French masses for a war against Hitler.

Differing from each other as to the location of the first enemy, these two groups agree that French military preparations should constantly be increased. The endless discussions over budgetary questions in which the French parliament has been tied up year after year, have not served to hide from large sections of the masses one thing: in the sacred name of patriotism, La Patrie, they are being asked to go without necessities of life—in order that a war machine shall be built to consume them.

The Stavisky Affair The Stavisky affair introduced new elements into the situation. A wholesale pawn-broker in Bordeaux was exposed as a wholesale swindler. It was revealed, despite anxious efforts of the Chautemps Cabinet to hush the matter up, that

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Significance of Taxi Drivers' Strike Analyzed

The signal for working class struggle sounded by the general strike of New York hotel workers has found a stirring response in the strike of the New York taxi drivers. Already in the first week of its stormy career it has given the working class of New York and the country an inspiring demonstration of working class militancy. In its staccato language of speed, action, and solidarity can be heard the authentic voice of the proletariat. Consider it! Here were men horribly exploited, unorganized, a prey of politicians, racketeers and crooks, without traditions of trade union struggle or even the most elementary understanding of the class struggle. Notwithstanding, within a week, in the fire of struggle, they forged a union which embraces almost half the drivers in the industry.

The basis for the strike is to be found in the miserable conditions of the taxi drivers: a weekly aver-

age wage of ten to twelve dollars; twelve hour shifts and more; some men worked the "Coollie" shift—twenty-four hours a day, sleeping at the wheel; failure to bring in a minimum resulting in discharge; the black list; and, finally, the five cent tax cutting into their tips.

The strike received a certain stimulus from La Guardia, when he offered not to appeal the decision of the Supreme Court of New York declaring the five-cent tax on all rides illegal, if the cab company owners would turn over to the men all the tax money collected up to the time of the court's decision and held in escrow pending the decision. The companies refused La Guardia's offer and made a substitute offer of only forty percent. The men felt that all of the money belonged to them as the tax really came out of their tips. In their view La Guardia was with

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Lewis Triumphs at Mine Convention

Seventeen hundred delegates attended the thirty-third convention of the United Mine Workers held recently at Indianapolis. The majority gave the John L. Lewis administration a vote of confidence, cheered his pompous convention verbiage and bestowed a goodly portion of the acclaim upon his retinue of mediocre horn-blowing lackeys who constitute the pillars of his high-handed regime.

A whole coterie of officials had come direct from the anthracite coal fields where they had been instrumental in breaking the backbone of the strike conducted by the "insurgent" union. That suited the hand-picked delegates who constituted the majority in the convention. Strike-breaking has become their trade. Lewis ruled supreme at the convention. Opposition was squelched. Progressive proposals were defeated hands down, shelved in committees, or so garbled in formulation that after their adoption they will remain dead letters.

An "Industrial Statesman" Since the recent revival of the U. M. W., John L. Lewis has been hailed far and wide by the press—which is always on the side of the enemies of the miners—as the outstanding example of labor-industrial statesmanship. But this praise did not refer to the union revival, but to such instances as the strike-breaking in the anthracite and elsewhere. The revival was due to the indomitable spirit of the rank and file miners and their fight for union organization. Lewis enters to collect the check-off.

His career of "industrial statesmanship" began many years ago as a petty official systematically looting the treasury of the Panama, Illinois local union. Through that he learned the first lessons in the shady art of buying henchmen. In the highest office of the union he made it into a system. He reinforced this with the methods of deliberate vote stealing, frame-ups, and slugging of opponents. Martin Ryan who led the powerful strikes for union organization in the Pennsylvania coke region sat in jail during the convention, framed up on a charge of assault and battery. Removing regular elected officials in the various union districts or sub-districts who in any way became recalcitrant to the Lewis regime, and the institution of what is called provisional government, became a celebrated method. Today most of the union districts are under such provisional government. The appointive power enabled Lewis to make general organizers out of all his decrepit henchmen who were defeated in regular union elections. Today there is a host of such appointed organizers throughout the coal fields who were at hand to "manage" the convention elections. There was rich opportunity to secure the hand-picked majority of the delegation which claimed to represent a total membership of 360,000.

The Concoction Hoax The convention had as its outstanding feature a note of conciliation peace and harmony to be extended to the operators. But when delegate Sloan from Westville, Illinois dared to make a fight for freedom of political opinions within the union, for the right of union members to choose their own political affiliation, including Communist affiliation, he was threatened with ejection from the convention hall. To affix the seal of "honest" and peaceful intentions upon the proceedings, the secretary of the National Coal Association, the op-

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EDITORIAL

At the end of the second week of the general strike of New York's hotel and restaurant industry, the strikers stand firm in unbroken ranks. The strike remains as effective as before, and the service in the hotels is still crippled, particularly in the kitchens.

The bosses have been dealt a powerful blow. A magnificent union of the workers is in the making, and the militancy of the strikers, especially of the rank and file workers, is a sound assurance of its future. The well organized mass parades around the struck hotels, bespeak a readiness on the part of the workers to fight vigorously against the bosses, the strike-breakers and all their portectors.

The strike has become a test of endurance, with the backbone of the workers as stiff as ever. Here again, as we have emphasized before, the question of maintaining the morale of the strikers is of paramount importance. The disorganizing activities of the Stalinists in control of the "18th St. Union" are unmistakably one of the danger spots in the struggle. Placing their own private interests above the interests of the workers, constantly implanting demoralization and division into the ranks, these wrecking crews take upon themselves an ever weightier responsibility.

The most effective prosecution of the strike requires that we point out here some extremely serious weaknesses in the conduct of the movement. If the looseness in the organization of the strike could be excused in its first stage there is no justifying it at present. Quite the contrary, the failure to tighten up all around, to improve the functioning of the directing committees, to organize on a far better scale than hitherto the all-important mass meetings at which the strikers are fused into a solid and informed fighting group—can easily prove to be of the deepest seriousness. The responsibility both for the present state of affairs and for its remedying, rests, naturally, upon the leadership of the strike.

"A tightening up in the functioning of the union is essential to the morale of the strikers," we wrote last week. "The committees must be properly coordinated, the shop committees must become living bodies drawing the workers closer and closer to the union as a whole. Organizational efficiency, on the one side, and a morale-building leadership on the other, can make the Amalgamated a force that will smash through all the barriers standing on the road to victory."

To our regret, the condition for which we urged a necessary correction, has not yet been given the attention it commands. It becomes increasingly clear that unless it is rectified, and with the greatest speed, it can greatly endanger the prospects of the strike.

Another question which assumes ever greater significance as the strike progresses was touched upon by us when we wrote in our last issue: "This strike cannot be won by 'respectability'. The attempts to make the Amalgamated 'respectable' in the eyes of the bosses and the government is an admission on the part of those who make them that they have

no belief that the workers can win by fighting. The attempts are reactionary and defeatist through and through...."

There is as yet no indication that this pernicious tendency against which we warned, has been checked. Here again the contrary is the case. Some of the publicity issued by the union is little less than scandalous. Such is the press release that the union counts among its numbers such a large American citizenry that... it cannot possibly be considered a "red union". Nor can we regard it as anything but the greatest mistake when Secretary B. J. Field of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union fails to repudiate some of the statements which the capitalist press has attributed to him or to the union whose most prominent official he is. We have nothing in common with such statements, and we feel confident that in this we share the sentiments of every class conscious militant. A fight such as the hotel workers are engaged in, cannot be won by such methods. We cannot cease to underline the need of the union and its leadership concerning itself exclusively with the public opinion—not of the bourgeoisie, the hotel owners, and their kept press—but of the rank and file, and of the fighting labor movement in general.

Essentially the same outlook should animate the attitude of the union to the NRA and its Labor Board. Nobody is so stupid, it goes without saying, as to think that this powerful governmental institution can be ignored in present-day labor struggles. Far from it. Precisely because of its pretenses, precisely because many workers still believe that this capitalist instrument is impartial, it is necessary to make use of every means at our disposal to strip it of its real essentials. It must be pressed to the wall, it must be made to speak out. It must be left no loophole to crawl out of with its shabby pretenses unmarred.

But at the very same time it would be fatal to create any illusions whatsoever as to the nature of the NRA. Every day brings new evidence to prove just what it is. The latest Johnson statement throwing the doors wide open to company unionism; the brutally insolent attitude taken by the local Labor Board head, Mrs. Herrick, when interviewed by the union representatives, can leave little doubt in the minds of any worker as to which side NRA really stands by.

NRA will not decide this strike for the workers! The outcome of every strike is decided by the relationship of forces in the struggle. Victory or defeat—that is decided by the strength and militancy or the weakness and passivity of the workers, and by nothing else.

The militancy which makes or breaks a movement, is not determined by any miracles which are promised. Nor does the union or its leadership promise any. The demands which the workers can gain are determined by what the situation makes it possible to attain. It is not out of the question that the situation may call, for the time being, for a compromise settlement, which it will not be

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Cab Drivers In Huge Meet At Garden

15,000 taxicab strikers jammed the basement of the Madison Square Garden at 11:00 P. M., Saturday, February 3, in a monster demonstration of solidarity and determination to fight for the unionization of the entire field. In spite of the attempts of the speakers to dampen the strikers' militancy by demanding over and over again that no violence be permitted or tolerated during the strike, the tone of the men was for a determined and bitter struggle to win their demands for complete and thorough unionization of the taxicab drivers, recognition of the union, full protection of employees on the job, the entire five-cent on all rides and the tax money already collected to go to the strikers, a minimum wage scale and maximum work week.

Loss, the chairman, had difficulty in obtaining order, so high was the enthusiasm and spirit of the strikers.

Ex-Judge Panken, Socialist politician, spoke, "It is high time that the taxicab workers organize themselves". (Wild applause). "You cannot buy them by nickels now, what they want is union conditions!" (Wild applause, cheering and whistling... throwing hats into the air and commotion and enthusiasm for several minutes). However, when Panken said—"the machinery for the protection (of the workers) in the hands of the workers is no protest, not resentment, not violence" the fighting mood of the strikers was reflected in the ominous silence on the part of most of the workers, and the clearly heard "Oh yeah's!" and "We know how to handle this!" from various sections of the hall.

Leon Seifer, attorney for the United Taxi Drivers Union, spoke, emphasizing the program and demands:

- 1. Every man in the industry gets a job, gets a cab... and nobody horns in. (Men out of work in other industries driving cabs because of lack of regular employment to be kept out).
2. Representation in the City Hack Department.
3. Recognition of the union.
4. \$12.00 minimum wage scale and 40 per cent of the bookings over the minimum. During the course of Seifer's speech, his remark that "the police force of New York is a mighty fine outfit" was met by catcalls and boos, much to the embarrassment of the representatives of the P. D. who were plentiful in the hall.

Morris L. Ernst, appointed by La Guardia to "mediate" the strike sent word to the men to return to work, pending arbitration. This report, brought in by one of the taxi drivers in the organization was met by loud and emphatic protest on the part of the strikers present. The strikers shouted, "We want a union, we won't be kidded into breaking our ranks. We want union conditions and union wages. We got the power, we'll make them recognize us and give us what we want. Not a single cab on the streets of New York unless we win our demands." Gandall, who spoke briefly, emphasized the demand for "peaceful methods" and was not

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Militant Action In Cab Walkout

About 8,000 enthusiastic, cheering hackmen, gathered in the Auditorium of P. S. 27 on 42nd St., between Second and Third Avenues, on February 3. The meeting called by the United Taxi Drivers Union, a merger of the Fusion Taxi Committee, N. Y. Taxi Drivers Union, and the Taxi Drivers Non-Parisan Ass'n. They cheered and applauded all of their speakers. When their attorney Leon Seifer, suggested that the hackmen wanted only 40 percent of the tax money now held by the cab companies, cries of "No! No!" came from the back of the hall. The taxi-men knew what they want, and what they are out for.

Especially great was the cheering, whistling and applause for their own hackman-speaker, when he told of the miserable conditions under which the hackmen have slaved for years and said that the strikers would never go back until the union was recognized 100 percent, until there would be a shop steward in every garage in the city, and until the union received representation at the City Hack Bureau.

When the speaker said that, of course, they had given Mayor La Guardia their promise against the use of all violence, but they must realize the mayor was a reasonable human being, and couldn't expect the union to be responsible for the actions of 70,000 men and 20,000

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Scab Cars Run Off Streets Of N.Y.

The auditorium of P. S. 27 was jammed, men sitting on the steps and stage and filling the back aisles and the entrances: a conservative estimate would place the number at 2,500.

The meeting was electric with enthusiasm. Every call for action from the speakers evoked an instant response. The business consisted of:

- 1. A report of the conference with the "mediator" at City Hall the previous day at 12 noon. The conference was unsatisfactory.
2. An announcement of the final strike demands as drawn up by the Committee of 13, the leading committee of the strike which includes all four involved.
3. A discussion on plans for amalgamation of the unions.

Seifer stressed the necessity of a union, and pointed out that if he cabbies get nothing else, they must get a union. The response to this was overwhelming.

At this point the chairman announced that the 5th Avenue bus drivers had voted to strike at 6 A. M. the next morning. The strikers cheered madly, the ovation lasting a good five minutes. The bus drivers and conductors have failed to come out thus far, however.

On top of this the chairman reported that the Parklee owners had wired some hacks to start work the next day at 11 A. M. Chairman: "What's your answer?"

Strikers: N-N-N-N-NO !!! Jacques Buitenkant, an I. L. D. lawyer spoke in favor of the unity of all cabbies. He stressed the need for approaching the independents as fellow workers who have to be won over and make an integral part of the general strike. The attitude of the taxi drivers was clear; they are absolutely opposed to any cab operating; and they are even more opposed to the independents who are interfering with their fight with the big fleet owners. Their attitude to the independents is definitely hostile.

The last two speakers were two Negro organizers—cabbies who laid a good base for the feeling that the white and colored cabbies should stick together "like glue". The response to this, and to the announcement that not a colored chauffeur would drive through Harlem or Brooklyn, was instant and terrific. The meeting ended on a high note of militancy. One of the cabbies noticed the pencil and paper of the reporter and said: "You can put me down as saying that I'm going to strike until I drop dead. And put the name down, too, Jack Shaley."

The strikers surged out into the street and broke into groups to picket in Brooklyn, the lower East Side, and elsewhere. They marched west along 42nd Street, shouting and cheering on the way. In spite of the three mounted police and half dozen radio cars, the strikers hooted and dashed toward the very rare independent cabs on the streets. One cab swung into the Grand Central arcade. Another put on speed and crossed a red light. But one cab was caught and dismantled.

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Nab Khaki Shirt In Cab Driver Murder

Art J. Smith, "commander-in-chief" of the Khaki Shirts (U. S. Fascists) and gangster, was arrested Thursday in Shamokin, Pa., as a result of the reported confession of his ex-aid, Frank Moffer, concerning the murder of Anthony Fierro. Fierro, a taxi-driver and anti-Fascist, was killed during a "shirt" rally in Astoria, N. Y., last summer.

Athos Terzani, another anti-Fascist, was framed by the police and prosecuted for the murder. Terzani was defended by a united front committee, in whose work the Communist League cooperated. He was recently acquitted when the State's witness confessed that the charge was frame-up and accused Moffer. Moffer was arrested yesterday in a South Philadelphia rooming house, and is said to have identified as his own the gun found near Fierro's body.

Informed that the Terzani Defense Committee was considering terminating its activities, the Communist League recently wrote the Committee endorsing its work on behalf of Terzani and proposing that it continue to function in anti-Fascist work. The Communist League also applied for formal affiliation to the Committee. Should the proposal be accepted, it is hoped that a new stimulus can be given to militant anti-Fascist work in New York.

greeted with enthusiasm. His appeal for solidarity with the "City Executive" was met by silence.

The meeting adjourned with enthusiastic cheering for solidarity, and the determination by the workers not to allow a single taxicab on the streets of New York. —S. A.

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Swabeck Does the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Still Exist? Is the Soviet Union still a Workers State? National Secretary Communist League of America

LETTERS from the MILITANTS

C. W. A. Workers Must Unite as One

Marine Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Down in this remote and God-forsaken part of Brooklyn, where 4,000 C. W. A. workers are herded to perform absolutely useless labor, the wage-cut axe has fallen almost without warning. From \$15 they have been cut to \$13.44, in spite of the fact that every worker supports a family on his "salary," and has to spend a good chunk of it just for cartage (double) and warm clothing. As one worker put it: "They're simply taking the milk away from my kids."

Along with the announcement that 1500 men are going to be laid off within a week, the C. W. A. officials are looking for any sort of excuse to give us the gate. Tracy, the field foreman, wanted a gang of men laid off whom he accused of leaving a delegation to park headquarters to find out why our pay was being cut. But only one man was fired, and later reinstated. May be the fact that 1500 men had marched down from the other side of the park to park headquarters had something to do with it.

One old worker collapsed from the cold and all of us were almost frozen stiff when we were obliged to march all the way across the news in the face of a bitter-cold, sub-zero winter blast in order to get "checked in."

Instead of directing the single checker to come across and check us as we got off the bus, the gangs had to wait across and back again.

Still, the foremen and bosses are fearful as the devil of "agitators" and organization. Before the municipal elections, every drunken Tammany man hauled out as many circumstances as he wanted to. Now, when a fellow hands out C. W. A. leaflets, as happened in one case, the foremen try to grab him in order to scold him and get him locked up. Further, just before we got out our pay-checks, the foremen, without saying a word to us, warned us to go right home after we got it, and "not to hang around and talk to anybody."

The C. W. A. men, to protect themselves, must join up with a fighting organization. There are already two organizations in the field. This is entirely unnecessary; it will only confuse the workers and handicap any sort of campaign. C. W. A. workers must fight to make both groups unite, and they should demand: ONE ORGANIZATION, ONE FIGHT, ONE ENEMY!

A "Shoppie" Under a N.R.A. Code

The Henrietta Shoppies, Inc., manufacturers and retailers of silk hose and lingerie, have approximately twenty stores in New York City. Three of four girls are employed in each retail store; during busy seasons, five or six. The fact that the firm is "operating under an N.R.A. code" and will tolerate no attempts to change its rules and regulations is explained carefully to every girl hired. Sales girls are supposed to receive a \$15 minimum for 48 hours, 35 cents an hour if they work part time, and time and two-thirds for overtime.

These employees find out in a very short time that one of the firm's most important rules is: never pay workers what they really earn. Overtime is paid at the regular rate of 35 cents per hour instead of the 58 cents called for in the N.R.A. code that the Henrietta Shoppies were among the first to sign.

Extra Work Without Pay
Did I say overtime is paid at 35 cents per hour? I should have said the usual part of overtime that is paid to the girls is paid at that rate, for a long time before Christmas, and regularly on Saturdays and busy evenings during the year, girls are allowed only 15 or 20 minutes for luncheon and supper, but they are docked for two hours. They are required to work later and report earlier than "N.R.A. hours" call for, to clean the store and rearrange stock, but are not paid for these extra hours at all. Bosses explain that "this is not really work"; it's "just fixing up the store a little". Aching bones at the end of an 11 or 12 hour day refute the bosses' conception of what "real work" is.

The most highly paid and responsible positions this concern has to offer in their retail stores are held by girls who have been with them for many years. These are the managers who in return for their "loyalty" to the firm, that is, working too many hours for too little pay without complaining; reporting "radical" workers; reporting complaints of dissatisfied workers; in other words, underpaid spies—these girls receive \$18 per week. They are abused by the bosses exactly as the sales clerks are, and the pressure brought upon them is in turn placed upon the sales clerks who work under them.

"Filing" Labor Inspectors
When the cash register is short, the deficit is deducted from the girls' salaries. But when there is an excess, the money goes to "headquarters". A proposal made by some of the girls to create a stand-

ing fund of the excesses to be used in case of shortage, was flatly turned down.

Managers are required to call the main office frequently by telephone for additional merchandise, special instructions, etc., as the stores are not equipped with telephones the managers have to stand the cost of this duty themselves.

Inspectors from the State Labor Department come in from time to time, carefully note all the infractions of the labor laws and depart. The bosses boast that the cost of keeping these investigators "quiet" isn't much. Meanwhile, washroom conditions remain disgraceful, girls continue to work more hours than "allowed by the law," for wages much less "than required by N.R.A."

A general undercurrent of resentment is apparent in the majority of girls, but this is less obvious than their petty bourgeois attitude toward their working conditions and employers. When the bosses on their many rounds talk about the enormous profits they make and then, with woe-filled expressions on their faces, say "we wish we could do more for our employees", very few of the girls seem to be aware of the hypocritical nature of this sympathy.

Not until the girls understand that they can expect nothing helpful from their bosses will they be able to direct their resentment into an organized attempt to improve their conditions.

A Pig-Sty of a Hospital

The original Bronx Hospital on the corner of 169th Street and Fulton Avenue, was abandoned as unfit for use not so long ago. Its new quarters across the street are spacious, modern, and expensive to get into. The very latest scientific apparatus is installed and the private rooms are lovely to behold. Nothing was forgotten—except—Out Patient Department.

In an old dilapidated, dirty, wooden house next to the old hospital, workers who do not make enough for food and rent, and unemployed men and women, crowd in from morning to late afternoon. This is the only quarter of the old hospital that was "forgotten"—ignored—because it is not a source of profit.

The house has two floors and a basement. The first floor is used mainly for registration, and has several small rooms labeled, "Eye Dept.", "Dental Dept.", etc. The "clinic proper", where the great majority of the patients are sent, is in the basement. Here are eight or nine little cubby-holes—none of them is larger than ten feet square—also importantly named, Department of This, That or the Other. The floor and walls are stone. Rows of wooden benches are placed in

front of the departments, and patients wait to see the doctor, very often for as long as four hours. The place is too small to accommodate all the people that come. If you come early enough to get a seat on the uncomfortable benches, you are lucky. When, finally, you do get in to see a doctor, the examination is, of necessity, a superficial and hasty one.

The basement has two filthy wash-rooms. I have been here many times. Always, I have found the plumbing out of order, no water in the sinks, and indescribable filth. It is drafty and cold. The odors, and extreme discomfort of standing for hours on end in drafts, makes one sicker after leaving, than before entering.

The pharmacy connected with the Out Patient Department is just as ill-kept and dirty. The rows and rows of shelves have an inch of dust on them. Bottles are kept open and are not sterilized before they are filled with medicine and given to the patients.

These terrible conditions are not exclusive with the Bronx Hospital. They exist in many hospitals throughout the city. Municipal hospitals and dispensaries are especially notorious offenders—just one more consequence of capitalist profiteering—always at the expense of the workers—even to the point of endangering their lives.

An Expulsion at High Speed

Boston.—Last January 1 became actively interested in the radical movement. I attended all sorts of meetings, lectures and forums of the C. P., P. P., S. L. P., L. O. C. P. O., S. P., and liberal organizations of all descriptions. I did all the reading I could find time for and soon found myself wavering between the C. P. and the Left Opposition. I leaned in the direction of the C. P. and hoped and wished that it was the right organization because it was the official party, it was a member of the Comintern and it has the backing of the S. U.

No Answer to Questions
At the beginning of June when the German events were still fresh, I asked the Boston District Organizer questions on the united front, socialism in one country and several others. He didn't answer them very satisfactorily and as he was busy there wasn't much discussion. But I did ask him for some anti-Trotskyist literature and some of Stalin's works, which he promised to give me.

The following week I attended a meeting of the Dorchester unit. I again asked for anti-Trotskyist literature or the names of some books or pamphlets on the subject. I was still very much unclear on the question of Trotskyism. But with a friend of mine, the comrade from

the section and three others from Chelsea, we formed a unit.

Member of Section Committee
I was made a member of the unit bureau and the section committee. I was one of the most active members of the unit, which as a whole was a very inactive unit as all the units were.

In the meantime, I kept pestering our unit organizer and the district literature agent for anti-Trotskyist literature but they couldn't even refer me to any names of pamphlets or books.

On Monday, Nov. 13, there was a section membership meeting in Roxbury. At this meeting the D. O. in his talk said that Trotsky was against the theory of building socialism in one country and that Stalin was in favor of it.

I read a quotation from Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" (the first edition) in which he unmistakably declares that socialism cannot be built in a single country taken by itself.

Becomes a "Counter-Revolutionist"
I asked for an explanation of this quotation. Weiss the D. O. got up and attacked Trotsky, not his theory or his ideas but his personality and then he sailed into me. He said that I was a counter-revolutionist and everything else under the sun.

After Weiss made his speech, I was given an opportunity to defend myself, when all I had done was to question a statement of his. I asked him to answer my question first and then take up the question of my activities. I asked why there had been nothing wrong with me until I had asked this question.

Weiss then called for a vote to expel me for counter-revolutionary activities, saying that I had been sent into the league to undermine it. I was expelled by a show of hands.

The Jew-Baiters in Chicago

To the Editor:
Your articles in the Militant by Geo. Clarke on the Fascist Silver Shirts are very good but incomplete.

The Chicago Fascist link with the Silver Shirts is the professional patriot Harry Jung, who runs the patriotic racket called the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation with free rent offices in the Tribune Tower Building of Chicago. Jung is the Chicago anti-Jew leader and he holds secret Fascist meetings on anti-Semitism at the Chicago Union League Club. One of his backers is the young moron Clement Studebaker, whose father was a utility magnate. Also the Ku Klux Klan has or did have its office in Jung's office. You have to have the password to get to Jung's office. He is organizing Fascist units, members of which are sworn to secrecy, undying hatred of all Jews, and each member is assigned a code number.

Investigate this racket and expose it, as it is one of the worst in the country.

Fraternally,
R. L.
Chicago, Ill.

Hotel Scab Agencies Fall Through

Sixth Avenue's blood sucking employment agencies were sadly disappointed when the expected rush of applicants for striking hotel and restaurant positions did not materialize. Personnel managers of hotels who interviewed job-seekers at the different Sixth Avenue agencies, despite their pleas and promises of no fees for the jobs and sleeping accommodations in the hotels could get only a few men.

Fearful of the results that hiring of scabs might have, many of the agencies are now pretending that they are not supplying them. The Hotel bosses have set up their own employment agency on West 57th St., with little or no success.

Arrangements have been made with steamship companies to rush cooks and waiters to various hotels as soon as a boat docks. In this way Japanese workers have been supplied to the Hotel Chatham. Colleges and universities in New York City and vicinity have been sending students to the struck shops to work after school hours. Parole and probation officers are sending jobless ex-convicts to work as scabs. The paroled men are afraid to refuse this dirty work out of fear of being sent back to jail as "parole violators".

Fired by the C. W. A. But Not Hired!

After a two-and-a-half month wait for a OWA job, I suddenly received a special delivery Saturday, February 3rd to report for assignment the following Monday. I was told on Monday to report at the Municipal Building in Brooklyn the next day. There I was told to report at Prospect Park for work a day later. At Prospect Park I had to wait several hours. While

waiting, I overheard the supervisor telephoning for police. He was telling the cop at the other end of the wire that he wanted police to keep order as discharged CWA workers had already arrived and many more were expected. The workers were expected to protest their dismissal.

Later that afternoon I was handed a sealed envelope to deliver to the Park Department in Manhattan. When I got to Manhattan I found out that I was "discharged". In other words, I was fired before I was hired. I went to the Central Bureau which had sent me the special delivery letter to get an explanation. "No funds; project held up" was the reply they gave me, and are giving thousands of others.

The capitalist press now reports that CWA workers are being fired for loafing. First capitalism makes a "loafer" out of you by throwing you out of work; then it refuses you unemployment insurance. Finally it gives you a lousy, fake job; and then it fires you for "loafing".

Pioneer Publishers

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
By LEON TROTSKY

During the last few weeks the Pioneer Publishers tried hard to publish comrade Trotsky's new pamphlet on the class nature of the Soviet Union. In spite of great financial difficulties, we finally succeeded in bringing it out. We are, however, in great debt. Branches and individual comrades should rush their orders without delay. Cash with order will be of great help.

IMPORTANT OFFER
The Pioneer Publishers, besides publishing Marxian books, is endeavoring to supply the militants with Marxian literature and important books of an informative character at very low prices.

This time we have succeeded in getting two very important books which every worker should have. We offer two big volumes ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS, a beautifully bound book with Rosa's portrait, and THE LETTERS OF SACCIO AND VANZETTI, cloth bound, BOTH volumes for ONLY \$1.50. For certificate holders, \$1.25. Add 15c for postage.

We are glad to inform our numerous inquirers, that we have on hand Lenin's book IMPERIALISM and STATE AND REVOLUTION in one cloth volume for 75c. Branches and certificate holders—60c.

Buy a PIONEER PUBLISHERS' CERTIFICATE. It's only \$5 and entitles you to 40% discount on our publications and to a 20% reduction on any book published by other publishers.

Our School in Brooklyn

The Brooklyn branch of the International Workers School announces the opening of a lecture course entitled "The Present and Future of American Communism" to be given at the Millant Hall, 154 Watkins St. The first lecture will be given by Arne Swabeck, secretary of the Communist League of America, on Monday, February 12, 8:00 P. M. The subject of his lecture is "What the Communist movement looks like today". The lectures will be given every Monday evening. The second lecture will be on "The Communist Party—working class vanguard or brake on the revolutionary movement".

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

The Soviet Union and the 4th International by LEON TROTSKY
IN ENGLISH and IN JEWISH
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84 East 10th Street, N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

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The Unpleasant Task of O. Piatnitsky and How Lenins Used to "Help" Him

I was just reading O. Piatnitsky's pamphlet, *The Present Situation in Germany*, published by the Communist International. This piece of apologetics is pretty sickening, especially the impudent way in which Piatnitsky talks down to the suffering workers of Germany. But I want to point out one thing in particular:

This pamphlet has the unpleasant task of explaining away the collapse of the C. P. of Germany in the face of Hitler's attack. It has to answer the questions: Why was no better defensive struggle put up by the German proletariat? Why did not the C. P. lead in organizing such a struggle? Why did not the C. P. force the S. P. D. into a united front? Instead of answering them, however, it concentrates on another question: why did not the C. P. make a revolution in Germany last year?

Now it is indisputable that, in the last analysis, German capitalism's willingness to use Fascism to preserve itself could be answered only by a proletarian seizure of power. This, however, need not necessarily have occurred in any given month of last year. It is conceivable that had the C. P. and the working class put up a better fight, the balance of forces which prevailed under Schleicher might have been shifted in favor of the working class. In other words, Fascism would not have been immediately crushed, but would have been held off from power for a period by means of mass struggle falling short of the seizure of power by the proletariat. The seizure of power might have occurred at a somewhat later date when, as a result of that mass struggle and partial victory, the ranks of the class had been further consolidated and the enemy further weakened.

Ignores Real Issue
All this Piatnitsky ignores. Pointing to the historically indisputable axiom that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can save off Fascism whenever the latter threatens, he argues that a revolutionary situation did not exist in Germany, that therefore power could not be seized, and that therefore Hitler could not be stopped. Hence the C. P. was right to do nothing. And in case you don't believe it, he warns, the ECCI has said it and you'd better believe!

All this is fishy enough, but the worst is yet to come. How does Piatnitsky prove that there was no revolutionary situation in Germany? Partly by referring to facts about the concrete situation, facts pulled out of their context, twisted, fabricated, misinterpreted. But largely by quoting from Lenin. And it is to one of these quotations that

I wish to refer. Piatnitsky opens Lenin's pamphlet, "Left" Communism—and quotes Lenin's definition of a revolutionary situation in the following way:

"For revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling class be in a state of government crisis, which attracts even the most backward masses into politics...weakens the government and facilitates its rapid overthrow by the revolutionaries."

How Piatnitsky "Edits" Lenin
This seems clear: a majority of the workers must be for revolutionary struggle even to the death; the government crisis must do two things: (a) draw even the most backward into politics, and (b) weaken the government and facilitate its overthrow. But why the three dots toward the end of the quotation? Was Lenin so long-winded that a big chunk of his definition had to be dropped? No. Here is the last part of the passage without omitting thirty-seven little words Piatnitsky overlooked:

"The ruling class (must) be in a state of government crisis, which attracts even the most backward masses into politics. It is a sign of every real revolution, this rapid tenfold, or even hundredfold, increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses, heretofore apathetic, who are able to carry on a political fight which weakens the government and facilitates its overthrow by the revolutionaries." ("Left" Communism, Toiler edition, page 86.)

So it is not the crisis which weakens the government, but the struggles of the once-apathectic masses "who are able to carry on a political fight" because of the existence of a crisis. Now the point about the three dots becomes clear. If a revolutionary situation did not exist, it was just because these masses were not carrying on such a fight. And whose fault was that if not the vanguard's, the C. P.'s? Piatnitsky's whole pamphlet being written in order to avoid this question, naturally he does not hesitate to amputate Lenin a little bit lest the rottenness of his bureaucratic argument become suddenly apparent.

The alternative theory is that Piatnitsky couldn't find room in this 64-page pamphlet with its closely packed type for thirty-seven additional words by Lenin out of the middle of a sentence.

—HARRY STRANG.

Organize Jewish Club in Brownsville

Some time ago, a number of Jewish workers took up the question of organizing a Jewish club in Brownsville. The need for a Jewish club that would base itself on the principles of the class struggle and at the same time be free of all mechanical party control, grew up as a result of the widespread expulsion and discrimination against anyone who dared as much as show a dissenting voice against bureaucracy.

Steps were immediately taken to organize such a broad Jewish club. Now after a short period of existence, the club has a membership of more than 20 and about that many more sympathizers who will undoubtedly join very shortly. A constitution provides that the club base itself upon the general principles of the class struggle. It will support all phases of the revolutionary struggle of the working class such as strikes, demonstrations and the defense of political prisoners regardless of the political views they hold. Every member will have perfect freedom of expression in the labor movement he or she wishes. The club makes it

a strict rule to bar from membership any person who is disclosed upon investigation to be or to have been a scab, or strike-breaker. The constitution further provides for election to the executive committee every six months, initiation to be 25c and 25c monthly dues, with five cents for unemployed. The name of the organization has been chosen to be "October Club of Brownsville" and has its headquarters at 154 Watkins St., and meets regularly every Wednesday.

The "October Club" has a variety of cultural and educational activity as well. Sometime ago a lecture was held under its auspices with Jacob Berlin reporting on the condition of the labor and Jewish movements in Europe after Hitler's coming to power. An enthusiastic audience was moved to long and heated discussion following it. Now for this coming Wed., January 12, the club is arranging a lecture on Democracy in the Trade Unions and the Situation in Local 9, I. L. G. W. U. with Sylvia Bleeker, long active trade unionist, lecturer. All workers are invited to attend. Admission is free and questions and discussion will follow.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

(Winter Term)
The International Workers School is about to enter its third year of Marxist education for the revolutionary workers of New York City. It has issued its announcement of courses for the Winter of 1934 which extends from February 18th to April 31st. The following classes are listed:

- FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM** Martin Abern
(Based on the "Communist Manifesto")
Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 21st.
 - THE YOUTH MOVEMENT** Joseph Carter
Sundays—2 P. M. to 4 p. m.—Beginning February 18th.
 - SURVEY OF AMERICAN TRADE UNION STRATEGY AND TACTICS** Arne Swabeck
Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 21st.
 - ELEMENTARY ENGLISH FOR FOREIGN SPEAKING WORKERS** S. Blake
Fridays—8 p. m. to 9:30 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd.
 - THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK PARTY** J. Wright
Fridays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 23rd.
- REGISTRATION:** The registration fee for each course is \$1.50. Arrangements can be made for payments at convenient intervals. Individual sessions are 20 cents each. Those workers wishing to register for one or more courses can do so either by mail or by coming to the office of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C. The office is open for the registering of prospective students all day long and every evening.
Registrants can secure complete outlines for the courses at ten cents per copy.

American-Soviet Agreement

(From the Bulletin of the International Communist League).

The resumption of relations between the United States and the Soviet State marks, of course, a very important stage in the present development of an international situation, chiefly characterized by the question of supremacy in the Pacific Ocean. Since the center of world relations shifted from inland seas to the great ocean routes, not only has an advantage accrued to countries which dominate such routes, but still more a struggle among the various imperialist powers for predominance over them was inevitably developed. Here again the forecasts of Marx and Engels respecting supremacy on the Pacific Ocean and the development of the United States, have been confirmed to the letter.

The United States of "kidnappers, bandits, rapists and pickpockets", has given the world "an amazing example of what miracles can be realized by a State of confirmed rascals." These "confirmed rascals", the capitalists of America, in accomplishing their "miracles", that is to say in plugging up treasures, developing themselves technically in such an extraordinary manner, accumulating enormous capital, have reached a situation in which they must spread their "miracles" outside their country and even well outside their continent. They must secure domination over the entire world. Especially in the war and post-war period, American capitalism has grown most rapidly, outstripping all its rivals and competitors. Its own territory being too narrow to hold its wealth and activity, American capitalism can no longer content itself with an "isolationist" policy. Its economic expansion demands the subjection of other countries, demands that it assume political hegemony.

The only European country which had thus far escaped American control is the U. S. S. R. Now American capitalism, by means of the recent agreement with the Soviets, has welded one of the last links in the chain which binds Europe to it as a dependent. In effect the doors of the U. S. S. R. have by this agreement been opened wide to American capitalist exploitation which thereby obtains a serious prop at a moment very important for it. But the chief political meaning of the recent American-Soviet agreement relates to the question of Pacific supremacy.

At the same time as the United States, there has grown up rapidly in the Pacific a young power, Japan. By a bold and tenacious attack, the Land of the Rising Sun is trying to come forward as a formidable antagonist to the United States, and to take from it the place which the latter seeks in the Far East and especially in the vast Chinese market. A new world conflagration would already have broken out, if Japan had not been able to profit in its attack from the state of uncertainty still prevailing in the camp of its enemies and from the internal and international weakness of the U. S. S. R. As for the United States, everything indicates that they have had to take and still take a cautious attitude toward the offensive of their rival, fearing to come to grips with Japan alone. Russia has also had to make concessions to Japan, thus heightening American capitalism's fears of its antagonist's aggrandisement.

The Significance of Russian Recognition by the United States

Both the United States and the U. S. S. R. need allies to meet the alarming situation created in the Far East by the Japanese offensive. In this sense the new American-Soviet agreement is certainly one of the most important factors in international politics of this epoch. What will be its future repercussions?

Indisputably, a workers' State has every right to utilize for the benefit of the proletariat the differences existing among the various bourgeois groupings, even to the point of concluding when necessary "a defensive understanding with the bourgeoisie of one color against the bourgeoisie of another color." But this tactic, rightly defended by Lenin and all revolutionary Marxists, is comprehensible only on condition that it serves "to lighten the work of the social revolution, to speed its coming, to weaken the international bourgeoisie, to reinforce the positions of the victorious working class."

Now, the "tactics" of Stalin-Litvinov are to the revolutionary, Bolshevik-Leninist tactic what the negative is to the positive. All the revolutionary sagacity in the strategy and tactics of Lenin has, in the strategy and tactics of the Stalinist bureaucracy, become a swindling of the workers. Instead of "reinforcing the positions of the vic-

torious working class" and "weakening the international bourgeoisie", the Stalinist bureaucracy, after having killed the Chinese Revolution and precipitated the German proletariat into a catastrophe, is reduced to a labor of preserving the balance of power among the capitalist powers. This has nothing in common with the strategy and tactics of revolutionaries.

One of the most direct consequences of the new American-Soviet agreement will be, in effect, to increase the servile anti-proletarian spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its submissiveness to international capitalism, its most open abandonment of the road of world revolution. Did we not have a proof of this submissiveness even before the signatures were affixed, in the silence of the Comintern during the Cuban revolution? Still more: some Stalinists have preached non-violation of American property in Cuba in order to "avoid" the intervention of the American fleet. As though the national liberation of oppressed peoples could be carried out without expelling the imperialist oppressors!

Once again the workers must be shown that the U. S. S. R. and the gains of the October Revolution can be saved only by the force of the international proletariat, the joint action of the proletarians of all countries. The ripening of the proletarian revolution is not assisted by carrying on, as does Stalinist diplomacy, a labor of preserving the balance of power among the international bourgeoisie.

Who Was Bishop Tourian?

Recently an Armenian Archbishop, Leon Tourian was assassinated in an Armenian church here in New York.

It is perhaps worthwhile to reveal certain facts pertaining to the attitude of the Stalinists regarding this case, especially the Friends of the Soviet Union.

The archbishop was stabbed to death by a few members of the Tashnag party, a reactionary organization composed of Russian Armenian counter-revolutionists having as its aim to restore the bourgeois nationalist republic in the area which is now Soviet Armenia and to extend that territory at the expense of Turkey.

The archbishop was a member of the liberal democratic party which is composed of Turkish Armenians, apparently having a passive attitude to the Soviet Union and opposing the imperialist aspirations toward Turkey on the part of the Tashnag. Hence the enmity between the two groups which led to the tragic affair.

The contradictory attitude of the archbishop was characteristic of the archbishop when active was a Fascist to them; after his killing he became a Friend of the Soviet Union. They even called a mass protest meeting against the murder affair.

Panvor, the Stalinist organ in the Armenian language, of August 19, 1933 carried a lengthy declaration of the Central Committee of the Armenian Bureau with the most vicious denunciation against the archbishop, trying to prove the similarity of Tourian and his party with the Tashnag. A cartoon is pictured to that effect, Tourian protecting the liberal democrats and Tash-

nag before the threatening hand of labor. "Archbishop is concentrating anti-Soviet forces around the Armenian National Church Council" says the declaration. "What do you expect from an archbishop who was sent here from Celst Grybenkin's (a former oil magnate in Tsarist Russia now in Paris—J. K.) own church in London to reconcile the two parties... Four Tashnag were elected to the National Council when asked by the opposition why, the reason was given as a means of reconciliation."

In the same number of Panvor a letter is printed by Hoc (an Armenian version of the F. S. U.) dated August 7th to the archbishop.

It quotes the Armenian Church Council as saying: "It's unfortunate that the holy archbishop was involved in that affair of removing the Armenian national flag on Armenian Day, July 2nd, since he always in the past as well as in the present stated that he respects the national tricolor." Hoc requests denial or confirmation of the above statement. Answer never received.

How do these facts correspond with the present characterization of the archbishop by the Stalinists? That we leave to the Stalinist confusionists to explain.

It should also be remembered that last summer the F. S. U. invited archbishop Benjamin to deliver an anti-Soviet speech from its platform. (See N. Y. Times, July 1st and Militant, July 8). And yet the Daily Worker of January 12 in an editorial entitled, "The F. S. U. convention", says that: "The F. S. U. is the main bulwark in the struggle against anti-Soviet poison propaganda." Not the C. P. but the typical petty bourgeois organization

dominated by petty shopkeepers, professionals, rabbis and priests, the F. S. U., is the main bulwark for Soviet defense. Further comments are unnecessary.

The workers have nothing in common with this murder case. It is a struggle between two counter-revolutionary groups desperately trying to maintain their position, having as their objectives to restore their rule in the Soviet Union.

—J. KAMIAT.

JUST ARRIVED!

THE BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION has just arrived from Paris. The feature deals with the 17th Congress of the C. P. S. U. There are important articles by Leon Trotsky, Alfa and others. There are also important letters from the Soviet Union. It is indispensable for Russian-speaking comrades. Get it now! There are only a few copies on hand.

32 pages 25c per copy
All orders should be addressed to Rae Spiegel, c/o The Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

Militancy Shown In Taxi Strike

(Continued from page 1)

sympathizers, the hackmen broke into wild laughter followed by great applause. The hackmen understood!

William Gandall, the chairman of the union, assured the strikers that no settlement had been made, and no settlement would be signed without the consent of all the union members. He informed them further that a meeting of the different taxi groups for that same evening was scheduled to discuss plans for amalgamation of the four unions in the field.

The hackmen became impatient with the many speeches and poured out into the street to attend the central mass meeting at Madison Square Garden. It was evident, that the march was not prepared. There wasn't a single poster in sight, except for an impromptu piece of cardboard on an end of a stick, marked "Bronx", which was wildly cheered, wherever it bobbed up during the march to the Garden.

But in the very improvised character of the march, the workers revealed their militancy and iron courage. As many as were able piled into the empty hacks—"We might just as well ride in style for once in our lives."

As the line passed across 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, the men stopped a passing independent cruiser, told the passenger to get out and advised the driver to go right back to the garage. On 42nd Street and Sixth Avenue, traffic was tied up completely for about ten minutes and the cop on the beat couldn't do much about it either. Every passing independent cab was halted and stopped. All passengers were ordered out. The strikers piled in and ordered the driver to beat it back to the garage. If he protested the doors were jerked off. Sometimes the windows got broken by accident, while the strikers angrily yelled out at them—"You guys were laughing, when we were walking the streets starv-

Mexico City.—There is no lack of activity or signs of activity of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Mexico City. In fact, judging by the number of posters, signs, etc., on the street the Internationalists are as active or nearly as active as the Stalinist party.

The first day in town I noticed a statement of our comrades on the Montevideo Congress, printed and pasted all over the workers' section.

Then in my walking through the town I saw painted in a great number of places "Viva la Oposición de Izquierda Comunista" with sickles and hammers. I also noticed a mimeographed statement of the opposition on the 7th of November all over the working class sections of the city.

There is another sign of activity of the Internationalist Communists. This is the great attention and amount of space given them in the Stalinist organ, the *Machete*. Every issue of this rag is filled with raving frothings, lies, slander, provocation, denunciation—this is their "ideological" campaign.

Stalinist Provocation

The four numbers I have seen of this paper each contained lengthy attacks. In one attack, they gave the name of one of the leaders of

ing. Now, you were told to stay off the street today. Get your damned car into the garage and keep it off the street."

A cop rushed up holding his blackjack in his hand, and ordered the marchers to keep moving, but the line held its ground. "Don't use that, buddy, if you don't want to start trouble." The cop retreated.

Then the cry went up "To Broadway, clean up Broadway!" Broadway, was cleaned up cleaner than a ballroom floor, that Saturday night; while the cops kept chasing up and down trying vainly to disperse the dozens of hackmen groups who kept surrounding all independent cabs, ordering all passengers out, and tearing off the doors of all "tough" independent drivers. "The color of your badge ain't no different than mine, bud", they said to them. Four riot squads were called out; many of the workers were hit with blackjacks on their backs (the cops didn't dare smash them over the head). But after it was all over, very, very few cabs were to be seen on Broadway, and many a begowned and bejeweled lady, had to walk to a subway.

After participating in that cleanup, this reporter, for one, realized, why the strike has spread like a prairie fire, and why there isn't a single big company cab on the streets of New York today.

For the first time in their lives, the hackman of New York feel, in the words of one of their speakers, that "they are not lice, or scum of the earth, but workers, rendering service just like the worker in a big factory or plant." They are feeling their strength and unity, know what they want, and do not mean to go back until they get it.

A spokesman for the Independents is reported to have said: "Why should we quit, when every night is New Year's?" After what I saw of last night, I think the Independents will have some pretty good reasons to change their minds. —B. C.

The Movement In Mexico

Revolutionary Events As Seen by Our Own Correspondent

the group, and where he worked—all the police had to do was pick him up and send him to the *Isla de Tres Marias* on this information.

When I showed this to a Stalinist party sympathizer he stated, "Oh, the police don't bother the Trotskyites". I said that I didn't believe him. In a little while you will see the truth of this statement.

The story itself was a delirious lie. The truth is the contrary of all the statements *Machete* made. Our comrade did not help the boss cut the workers' wages—he organized the workers against this cut in wages. For this he was thrown out on the street jobs.

It was through this statement that I made contact with the group. I went up to the shop where the comrade was supposed to have done his counter-revolutionary work and asked where I could find this man. The workers did not manifest any signs of indignation when I said I was his friend. On the contrary, one worker volunteered to show me where he lived and accompanied me there. He did not curse comrade L. or abuse him, but rather spoke of him with affection and admiration. This worker, by his intelligent class conscious conversation, showed that not a faker, or government agent had worked for some time beside him but a class conscious revolutionist.

Young Internationalists

I made contact with our comrade, who at present is working in a little shop. After I showed him your letter and had talked with him, he gave me the following information: We have in Mexico City a group of 47, about 25 active. The majority are young, none of them work for the government, all are workers. How different from the Stalinist Party! He invited me to a meeting of the group the following night.

I accompanied this comrade on the meeting night. We entered a room, then went upstairs. Everyone who entered was first seen from above.

The first thing I noticed about the comrades was that the majority were young. I mean really young, —17 to 22 was the majority. There were a few older workers, obviously unskilled laborers, one of whom brought the latest copy of the *Machete* with a slanderous cowardly attack upon us in it.

The first order of business was the reading of this article and its refutation. Then a class took place in historical materialism. (This was an educational meeting).

Persecution of Comrades

When the meeting broke up, one of the comrades in conversation with me accidentally let the remark drop that he had done time on the *Isla de Tres Marias*. I was amazed.

Here was a youngster of barely 17, a child, who had spent six months on the Devil's Island of Mexico. He had, besides, been arrested innumerable times.

When I expressed my amazement he showed me three other comrades ranging in age from 15 to 22 who had also been picked up with him and had served time. Two were 22, one was 16, and one 15.

I was rather bitter when I thought of this party sympathizer's statement: "The police never bother the Trotskyites." I looked at the child who had contracted dysentery on the

islands, and who would never be the same—this was the agent among the working class sent by the government.

Marxist Education.

Poverty-stricken, harassed by the government, our comrades in Mexico work on. They are developing all sides of their work. They are educating themselves in Marxism. They are doing work among the masses. They are internationalists and so are preparing a Boycott Hitler Campaign. They are also planning to set up an apparatus for legal work. They are organizing syndicates (unions). They are going to carry on the Boycott Campaign in two ways—first, a statement by the group and then in a united front form. The statement will be printed and distributed by the League and pasted on walls all night, and at great risk, lest the pro-government Trotskyites be picked up by the government they are so devotedly serving and sent by that government to the Island. But our comrades here are internationalists in theory, and in fact—and are willing to suffer for their internationalism if necessary.

The comrades here have something that is unique in our international organization—a group of children organized in a Red Pioneer Group. These children learn about the class struggle both from books and in participating in the battle. They organize demonstrations of the children for free books and papers.

Demagogy of Government

The government, a master in demagogy (it is in reality a Social Democratic government) has, with a loud blast, inaugurated "Socialist Education". They do not, with all their "Socialist education", give the workers' children adequate school facilities or free books or paper, thus making the loudly proclaimed compulsory education illusory. Our Pioneer are educating the struggle of the workers' children. Some of these grammar school children in the group have more than once seen the inside of the jail of the Mexican Workers and Peasants government (so the government describes itself).

It must be understood that the work has many shortcomings. This is inevitable, granting the conditions. The comrades find it difficult to buy books and read, they are so expensive. The illegal paper, the "Izquierda" (Left), has difficulty in coming out due to the high cost of stencils and papers.

Trotsky's Works Popular

The book stores here prominently display Trotsky's books and they seem to have a good sale among the students and intellectuals. I have seen all of Trotsky's work on display—printed in Spain and Chile in the main. The tragedy is that they are so expensive. Sixty centavos, which is the cost of the cheapest pamphlet amounts to nearly half a day's wages for an unskilled worker. It amounts to half a week's wages for a young worker. Marx's, Engels', Trotsky's and Lenin's works are loaned among the comrades until the print on the cheap paper becomes indistinguishable and the book is in tatters.

The Militant also plays a great role in the education of the comrades. By dint of great labor important articles are translated and are read to the comrades. Unfortunately, since none of the comrades know English, this can only be done at all-too-rare occasions. —C. C.

"Unser Wort" a Weekly
A Real Achievement

The transformation of Unser Wort into a weekly is a great achievement not only of the revolutionary wing of the German emigration, not only of the new party of the German proletariat that is now being built, but of the Fourth International as well. The strength of Unser Wort lies in the fact that it serves at one and the same time national and international tasks.

Some wise slow-movers go even further and say: "We do not want to split our ranks because of questions of the character of the Soviet state, the strategy of the Comintern in the Chinese revolution, the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, etc., etc. We want 'simply' to help the workers of our country to carry on the class struggle. Thus reason, for instance, the initiators of a new Workers Party in the United States (C. P. L. A.—Muste et al.). Of the same opinion are the leaders of the Swedish Independent Communist Party (Kilboom & others), the British I. L. P. (Fennell Brockway and others), etc. If you will, the authors of the German pamphlet "Begin Anew" occupy even a lower place in this question. Can one imagine a doctor who would say that he is not concerned with the fundamental theories of anatomy, physiology and pathology, that he does not want to argue about the newest theories on cancer, or malaria, but prefers "simply" to treat the patients of his locality? Not one thinking worker would trust the life of his

child, or his own life to such pitiable dullards. No capitalist, on the other hand, would entrust the erection of a plant to an engineer who did not master thoroughly the fundamental theories of technology. Only in the sphere of politics, even "revolutionary" politics, ignorant quackery continues as pretentiously to argue against the scientific method. It is at times difficult to believe that the Manifesto of the Communist Party was written 85 years ago!

The disputed questions, now splitting the world working class movement, have not an episodic, not a tactical but a principled, strategic and, by this very fact, international character. No matter how great the peculiarities of this or that country may be, they determine in our epoch merely the tactics and not the strategy of the working class. The importance of tactics, is, of course, great; in the final analysis all strategy dissolves into tactics. But we cannot make one correct tactical step without a strategic compass in hand. We cannot orientate ourselves in the national situation, without estimating theoretically the world situation, without drawing conclusions from the international experience of the working class, without outlining an international perspective, that is, without a program of a new international.

When deep-thinking people say: "do not hurry, now is not the time for the Fourth International", they could with equal success say: "Do not hurry, now is not the time for the class struggle". Since it is not a question of the formal "proclamation" of the new international, but of the building of a new party, not

as an isolated national entity but as a part of the International.

The small Unser Wort is now the only organ in the whole field of the German working class movement that realizes correctly, earnestly, in a Marxian fashion the interrelation of tactics and strategy, of a national party and a new international. Precisely in this lies the guarantee of its success. In the epoch of dissolution, ferment, confusion, political half-heartedness may sometimes register great successes which are of the greatest surprise to itself and blind it: but these successes are not trustworthy, they disappear together with the political conjuncture that gave birth to them. The successes of Unser Wort are of a different order; they are successes of method, system, Marxian clarity—these successes are solid.

Friends of Unser Wort must spare no efforts to insure the weekly appearance of the paper, enrich its content, enlarge its size, increase its circulation, facilitate its penetration into Germany and make ready for publication, alongside of Unser Wort of a theoretical monthly for the elaboration of the principal questions of our epoch, that is, of the program of the Fourth International.

Hearty greetings to the editors, personnel, administration, readers and friends of the weekly Unser Wort!
—L. TROTSKY.
January 24, 1934.

Discussion of Youth Problems

On Industrial Activity

In a recent discussion article I read with interest the remarks of a comrade who bemoans the lack of concrete suggestions by the National Youth Committee on how to begin youth work and by what method to proceed. He criticizes it and then attempts to enlighten the comrades with what, when read, turns out to be equally, if not more vague. He raises the cry "Into the working-class youth!" as the orientation for the more serious work of the League and points out the necessity of organizing cadres of youth on an economic basis into either the Spartacus Youth Clubs proper or broad workers' clubs.

How typically Y. C. L. is the cry and as equally characteristically, impotent! How are we to enter "into the working class youth"? How are we going to raise our youth slogans, how are we going to build cadres? Time and time again the Young Communist League has attempted to form "youth sections" in their own T. U. U. L. unions—and as often have they failed. Failed because they forgot one important factor: the working class will never have confidence in or follow the leadership of anyone but a worker and a worker in their own specific trade. Does the comrade imagine that merely to enter "into the working-class youth" insures his position in it or can he understand that the

working class fights shy of such mechanically imposed leadership? Our industrial work must be taken seriously and anyone entering into a specific field must enter it, not with the intention of helping out when it is on strike and flippantly and peremptorily leaving it when the excitement is over or even with the purpose of contacting the workers spasmodically at their homes, but he must enter it with the intentions of spending years in it. That is the crux of the situation and I can bear it up with very concrete examples.

During the recent Los Angeles dressmakers' strike I was secretary of the general strike committee and virtually in charge of the picket lines. Why was I able to do so much work? Was it the result of the sudden appearance of myself on the scene and the equally quick approval of me by the strikers? No. For a year before the strike I worked in the shops in the needle trade side by side with the workers, experiencing their hardships and struggles, understanding their trials, encouraging their militancy. For a year I carried on, to the best of my ability, the workers' day-to-day struggle with the bosses. Then when the need for a strike was apparent I raised the cry and carried it to the workers. On the meeting floor I was able to speak the workers' language and propose in it or can he understand that the

knew were the best to follow at that particular time.

Because, besides my personal experiences I had the advice of comrades long connected with various phases of union activity, I was able to voice the workers' demands in a generally correct line. And despite my youth there is no one who had more of the comradeship, the sympathy and the trust of the workers than I had.

Industrial activity should be our concentration and immediate perspective. But I add this. Our work must be taken seriously, spasmodic jumps from this field to that are worthless. Comrades must decide on a trade and prepare to work years in it. Groundwork for the revolution is laid in the trade unions. Let us then enter into them not by mechanically taking out a union card at the time of a strike but by working in the shops and earning the right to a union card.

Let us not make the mistakes the Y. P. S. L. and Y. C. L. had made and assume that going "into the working-class" is the signal for taking over leadership. The working class follows that organization that has identified itself with the working-class through its day-to-day struggle in its behalf, follows that organization whose members have built up a prestige in their unions by virtue of their years of long work side by side with the workers in the shops. All this will be the wedge whereby cadres of youth can be formed. Consistent and systematic work in your trade brings personal contacts and personal contacts form the nucleus for your youth cadres. —FLORENCE WYLE.

Bolshevik Congresses Once and Now

On the Eve of the Congress

The impending congress of the ruling party of the Soviet Union is being called upon to give its approval of the political leadership, the economic plan and the work of the Comintern, in accordance with a formula prepared in advance. However, these three closely interconnected spheres present a number of burning questions which the congress cannot and does not want to answer. Not because these questions conflict with the interests of the workers' state but because their very presentation is incompatible with the interests of the ruling bureaucracy.

First of all: why wasn't a regular party congress convened in three years and eight months? Under the most onerous conditions of underground struggle and emigration, from the years 1903 to 1907, four congresses took place: in Brussels, London, Geneva, Stockholm and again in London. The years of reaction and of the complete decline of the party that set in, interrupted the regular succession of congresses. Only in 1912 did a Bolshevik conference gather in Prague, equivalent in importance to a congress. No sooner did the revolutionary movement revive (1912-1914) than the war broke out.

In April 1917 a new party conference is called, similarly equal in importance to a congress. Four months later, at the end of July 1917, under conditions of semi-legality, the Sixth party congress assembles and sets out the political premises for the October uprising. Eight months later a new party congress is called upon to solve the Brest-Litovsk disagreements. The following five congresses are convened at regular intervals of a year, and each of them marks an important epoch in the development of the party and of Soviet policy. Each congress is preceded by a discussion unfolded with complete freedom.

Such was the regime prior to the death of Lenin and prior to the declaration of war against "Trotskyism". The 13th and 14th congresses already took place after great delays, necessitated by backstage bureaucratic maneuvers. The 15th congress was called, contrary to the party statutes, more than two years after the 14th: it was necessary first to smash the opposition. In the autumn of 1927 the Central Committee decided—although the statutes did not and could not grant it such a right—to convene all future congresses every two years. This decision was carried out without inner friction in the apparatus itself: it was difficult to explain openly why the Bolshevik party as a ruling party was denied the right which it enjoyed in the revolutionary underground: the right to control its apparatus and to give it instructions for the future. The 16th congress (June 1930) however, was convened not two years after the 15th (January 1928) but two and a half years after, that is, already in violation of the new statutes. Finally, between the 16th and the 17th congresses three and two-thirds years have elapsed. During the twenty months that the Central Committee ruled by usurpation, not merely in fact but according to the letter of the statutes as well, not a voice of protest was raised in the party. For two reasons: (1) no one believes that the apparatus congress is capable of changing anything in the work of the ruling summits; (2) if any one would try, in his simplicity, to protest, he would immediately be expelled from the party. The "cleansing" which preceded the congress expelled tens of thousands of people for lesser sins. If in the classic period of Bolshevism a discussion lasting a number of weeks preceded the congress, the present congress was preceded by a bureaucratic cleansing which dragged out for a half a year. Under these conditions the congress will be a ponderous parade of the bureaucracy.

Liberals and social democrats have frequently drawn a very superficial analogy between Bolshevism and Fascism. The late Serrati, former leader of the Italian Maximalists and a Communist during the last years of his life, said to me in 1914: "To our shame, Mussolini learned more from the Bolsheviks than we did." It is not necessary to explain the irreconcilability of the aims which the two principal world currents serve: one wants to perpetuate decaying capitalist society by means of universal police-rule, the other wants to liquidate classes and states by methods of the revolutionary dictatorship, thus liberating society and the human being. But in the course of a combat mortal enemies frequently exchange weapons. The fact is that in the struggle for power the Fascists have borrowed greatly from Bolshevism then in the last period the Soviet bureaucracy has familiarized itself with many traits of victorious Fascism,

first of all by getting rid of the control of the party and establishing the cult of the Leader.

It is impossible to read without a feeling of embarrassment and sometimes shame the Soviet press where in each column, in each article, each telegram and report of a meeting, the "Leader" is honored and praised in the very same unchanged and universally obligatory expressions. Even a journalist like Louis Fischer, who is not very critical with regard to the Soviet bureaucracy, found it necessary to point out the insufferable character of these standardized panegyrics. The connection between deifying the leader and the leaders (local leaders are deified within the limits of a definite territory) and the violation of the statutes, the abolition of criticism of the summits, the convocation of congresses at arbitrary intervals, after even more arbitrary cleansings—is absolutely evident. All these phenomena in their entirety mean the liquidation of the party as an active political whole that checks, elects and renews its apparatus. The first question which arises before the congress reads: where and why did the Bolshevik party disappear?

Bureaucratic Dictatorship and Social Contradictions.

For social development in general, for proletarian dictatorship in particular, a course and norms of pure reason cannot be prescribed. It is naive to say that the Soviet state is not a dictatorship of the proletariat merely on the basis that the given form of a dictatorship does not correspond to our prior conceptions. But if reality cannot be judged by ideal norms, it is just as inadmissible and no less dangerous to elevate the Soviet reality into an ideal norm. The historic failure of the Comintern is caused primarily by the fact that it proclaimed the Soviet state, more precisely, the Soviet bureaucracy, as a categorical imperative. Meanwhile, the international proletariat as well as the Soviet state itself need nothing more urgently than free, unhampered Marxist criticism.

The harsh character of the dictatorship is caused by the need of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown ruling classes and to undermine their economic roots. But according to the official theory (this basic task of the workers' state is in the main achieved. The second five year plan will merely have to complete it. The 17th party conference already decided—this decision is now repeated day in—day out—that the task of the second five year plan is not only the "liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general" but "complete liquidation of causes which engender class distinctions and exploitation" as well. In the conditions that the second five year plan is to create, state power will have nothing more to do. The struggle against external dangers would require, of course, also in a socialist society, a powerful military organization but by no means international government coercion, not a regime of class dictatorship. Where he causes disappear the consequ-

ences also disappear.

In reality no one of the rulers of the U. S. S. R. believes in such a perspective. The second five year plan, calculated on a full and complete liquidation of class distinctions, does not foresee at all a mitigation of government coercion, nor a decrease in the budget of the G. P. U. The ruling bureaucracy does not prepare in the least to give up its commanding positions, on the contrary, it supplies them with ever new and more material guarantees. Coercion, even within the formal framework of the party, already has such a harsh character as it never had during the years of civil war. Moreover, in all the official speeches and articles the perspective of a further intensification of the methods of the dictatorship is pictured. This crying divergence between two perspectives, the economic and the political, demonstrates irrefutably that the ruling bureaucracy obviously does not know how to make both ends meet theoretically.

Young Soviet theoreticians, it is true, have attempted to present the matter in such a way that the socialist growth of the country and the liquidation of the classes lead before our very eyes to the mitigation and weakening of purely state functions. Some people believed them. Louis Fischer, is one of his generally not very fortunate excursions into the realm of theory, tried to present the merging of the Commissariat for Trade with the trade unions as the beginning of the liquidation of the state. In reality, we have only a merging of two bureaucratic apparatuses. The new statutes of the party, which are to be ratified by the 17th congress, make a decisive turn towards the merging of the state and the party,—but how?—by a final and formal replacement of the party as well as of the mass Soviets by the single bureaucratic apparatus. It is not a question of the "withering" away of the state in the Engels sense, but on the contrary, of its further bureaucratic concentration. It is no wonder that the ruling summits severely rebuked the careless young theoreticians for attempting to draw political conclusions from the "liquidation of the classes".

The withering away of the party in the socialist sense of the word presupposes the liquidation of politics in general, therefore also of state coercion, and signifies the approach to an anarchistic society and by no means to a bureaucratic regime. Is it this that we see in reality? If "politics" has disappeared in the U. S. S. R. it has disappeared for the masses only. All politics is monopolized, centralized, personalized. It would be the greatest naïveté to think that the constant "deification" of the Leader is engendered by personal bad tastes and by official subservency. This purely psychologic explanation explains nothing. In reality the deification of the leader is a necessary element of the present political regime of the U. S. S. R. Since the workers are denied the possibility of re-electing and directing their apparatus, some other instance is necessary to solve state problems.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1) to the dishonor of the workers to accept. An honest leadership worthy of the name will have no need of being ashamed to organize its ranks even for such an outcome if the conditions impose it upon the workers.

But as matters stand now, the hope and prospect for a victory remain unimpaired. It is necessary, however, that the steps be taken which have been indicated in these pages on several occasions. The rank and file have shown a superb spirit, a flawless solidarity, a gratifying militancy. There is no doubt that even more houses can be pulled out on strike and the movement extended still further. And this is just what must be done at once to assure victory. But for this, the improvements in the organization and direction of the strike are essential prerequisites.

The leadership is the decisive problem. It must prove capable of organizing and coordinating the work, of drawing in all progressive forces, of discarding all narrow and clique tendencies, of inspiring the workers with self-confidence, of sharpening and extending the demonstrations and picket lines by heightening the morale, of instilling the workers at the daily mass meetings with the knowledge and spirit which alone can make them a cohesive and battling army. Any failure to make the neces-

sary improvements has opened the door to the Stalinist wreckers. The only way to eliminate this dangerous cancer is by making the necessary corrections and then by dealing with the Stalinists in the only way permissible to class-conscious militants: by proving in objective discussion and above all in practice, the superiority of the policies and conduct of the union's leadership to the misleadership of the 18th Street incompetents.

For our own part, we stand with those who seriously pursue such a course, and with no one else. And although we represent only a minority in the ranks of the Amalgamated, we are ready to cooperate with all the progressive and militant forces in the union who are marching in the same direction because they, like we, are concerned only with the advancement of the interests of the workers and their strike. Especially a labor strike is the last place in which a faction monopoly or clique tendencies can be permitted. Their continued existence can only prove fatal, because they are an insidious poison.

A genuinely collective direction of the strike, a heightened note of militancy, a serious concern with the organization of the work, a sober approach to the prospective outcome of the struggle—these problems, at the end of the second week, now stand out, full of promise: that their solution will mean the triumph of the workers and their union!

Disagreements within the uncontrolled bureaucracy must be settled from above, by the "Leader" who is but the personification of the apparatus.

But if it is not a question now of the withering away of the state out of its highest intensification, there should be deep social contradictions which give rise to this process. In what direction must we look for them?

Polemizing in 1932 against the author of these lines in the columns of the Berliner Tageblatt, Radek explained to us with his usual playfulness that socialism means the nationalization of the means of production and distribution and nothing more, and that if working class children do not get enough milk, this is explained by the scarcity of cows and not by the absence of socialism. Despite all its captivating simplicity this theory is radically false. Socialism presupposes not only the nationalization of the means of production but also the ability of the latter to satisfy all human needs. Precisely because of this the old primers stated that socialist society is possible only on a certain level of development of the productive forces.

It is true that social democrats drew from this proposition the reactionary conclusion that the Russian proletariat must not take power in general. They came to the same conclusion for Germany of 1918 as well and through the officers of Noske brought this admonishment forcefully to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. But the conclusions of the social democracy are no less false than those of Radek. The theory of Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Leon Blum and others assumes an extremely harmonious evolution of social forms: having reached the necessary maturity, the productive forces invite Messrs. socialist leaders to power. Everything takes place within the framework of democracy with full comfort for all the participants. In reality, the principal characteristic of historic development is the constant disruption of the equilibrium between the productive forces and politics, inside the productive forces themselves, for example, between industry and agriculture, between the social weight of the bourgeoisie and the weight of the proletariat, between the potential power of the proletariat and the real force of its party, etc. Contradictory historic conditions forced the Russian proletariat to take power first, although from the point of view of "sensible" socialist accounting it would have been infinitely more advantageous for the proletariat of the United States, England, or Germany to have taken power first. Had the Russian proletariat, however, obeyed the Mensheviks, not seized power in 1917 and not nationalized the means of production, Russia would have been doomed to the fate of China.

However, the disproportions of the belated and jumpy economic and cultural development have not disappeared in the dictatorship of the proletariat: they have merely taken on an unrecognizable form. The productive forces of the U. S. S. R. develop now in a nationalized form but they still pass the stages left far behind by the advanced capitalist countries—especially if reckoned on a per capita basis. From this follow, despite the "liquidation of classes", the social contradictions of Soviet society as well as the great theoretical confusion of the leaders.

Socialism, that is a society of harmonious production and distribution, presupposes at any rate that all the children should drink milk to their heart's content. If the cows are nationalized but their number is insufficient, or their udders dry, it is still not socialism, because for lack of milk conflicts arise: between the city and village, between the Kolkhoses, Sovkhoses and individual peasants, between various layers of the proletariat, between all the toilers and the bureaucracy. Precisely these sharp constant conflicts which take on inevitably a social, and in their tendencies, a class character, demand the powerful intervention from above, that is, state coercion. Sometimes, we see how a fight about milk leads to a malicious destruction of dairy cattle, and this forces the government authorities to de-nationalize the cow, giving it back to the peasants as private property. Only very recently the government found itself obliged for the same reasons to transfer the horses to life-time use of the peasants. The real key to the puzzle of bureaucratic omnipotence lies in these simple facts. We say, and not at all for paradox's sake, that if certain ancient religions, also because of insufficiency of cattle, based themselves on the bull Apis, the religion of bureaucratic sovereignty bases itself on the cow—not on the one that exists, but on the one that is lacking.

The problem is, of course, not exhausted by milk, it only begins with milk and bread. The contradictions pass through the whole system of economy and of social relations. The question, however, is too complicated and requires a special article. —L. TROTSKY. January 20, 1934.

Another "Victory" for Lewis

The U.M.W. of A. Convention

(Continued from page 1)

erators' organization, addressed the convention. But what is the real significance of these declarations of conciliation? Are they intended to secure peace and harmony in the mine camps with a filled pay envelope and a "full dinner pail" for the miners? That is not the motive.

The cringing pledge of these "industrial statesmen" before the coal operators is an effort to guarantee that there will be no fight for improved wages and working conditions made by the miners so that Lewis may secure formal recognition of the union and collect the check-off on the dues payments. The operators of the Pennsylvania captive mines, that is, the United States Steel Company empire, showed Lewis that they could beat him at his own game of vote stealing, intimidation, frame-ups, and bludgeoning. They had told the NRA labor board to keep hands off while, by these methods, they carried the elections in their mines for the establishment of their company union. Lewis did his best to betray the miners who struck for recognition of the U. M. W. Now he promises that there will be no strikes so that he may thereby obtain the check-off.

No Strike Assurances But the convention went on record for higher wages, for the six-hour work day and for the five-day

week. Yes, but on this point also, Lewis hastened the assurance that there would be no truculence in the attitude of the union. He warned the delegates not to raise false hopes back home that such desires could be obtained. "We do not wish to cripple the industry or embarrass the federal government or the recovery administration," he said—There must be no strikes, according to Lewis. In glaring contrast to these assurances, however, it is necessary to recall the fact that never in history have any serious gains been recorded by the miners except by fighting for them, by using the powerful strike weapon.

The most brilliant pages of American labor history carry the story of the valiant fight of the coal miners. But they also record the innumerable betrayals perpetrated by Lewis during the administration covering almost two decades.

The Insurgent Unions In 1925 he made his infamous proposal to drive 350,000 miners from the industry. The scourge of unemployment and the increase of machine mining aided this nefarious plan. Where once upwards of 800,000 coal miners worked in and around the mines, there are now 400,000 men employed. Many revolts against the Lewis regime have occurred, and insurgent unions have been created. There is today an independent union in the anthracite claiming 50,000 members;

the Progressive Miners Union in Illinois, which lays claim to 30,000 members. New unions have sprung up in Washington, West Virginia, and Nova Scotia. But the independent union in the anthracite, headed by Cappellini and Maloney has not differed essentially in its methods from the U. M. W. The so-called progressive leaders of the Illinois union have adopted all the bureaucratic methods of expulsions and frame-ups of the Lewis machine.

However, the indomitable spirit of the rank and file coal miners has remained. It is due to their vitality and fighting ability that the U. M. W. has revived and today represents perhaps the strongest union in the country. There are still great latent forces hidden within the smoke-filled mine fields. There is no reason to believe that the policies which prevailed at this Indianapolis convention mark the inauguration of a new epoch. On the contrary. The spirit of rebellion will again assert itself. The economic pressure upon the miners will call forth their resistance against the continuous and increased enslavement. This resistance will reduce the deceptive conciliation and peace proposals to naught. In the mine fields are excellent prospects for new and more serious rebellions and for much more serious contests against the treacherous Lewis machine. —A. S.

Masses Shake French Regime

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important bourgeois politicians were part of Stavisky's swindling apparatus.

The long pent-up discontent of the masses now began to break loose. Its dramatic expression was the attempt of thousands of Parisians to storm the Chamber of Deputies. Undeniably the demonstration in the Place de la Concorde was organized by reactionary elements. The Royalist groups led by the Camelots du Roi—an organization led by the scions of the nobility which the liberal French Republic has decade after decade permitted to plot openly its own destruction—desired by a show of force to bring about a swing to the right in the French Chamber. Thus they hoped to get into the tent the nose of the Bourbon camel which is eventually to crowd out the republic.

What the Royalists did not count on was the mood of the masses. By the thousands, workers hastened to the Place de la Concorde to join in the demonstration. Among them were many war veterans, tired of the "ingratitude of the Third Republic". But these masses did more than join the demonstration. They transformed its political character. From an expression of Royalist reaction, its voice was changing to that of the oppressed masses of the country, to become a thundering protest against political corruption, economic collapse and relentless exploitation. From the organized Royalists and would-be Fascist groups, the government had little to fear. But in the close-packed mass which boldly went head-on against armed and mounted soldiery, there moved a different spirit from that of the reaction.

Hence the launching of cavalry and machine gunners against the demonstrators, hence the press censorship and suspension of civil liberties. And hence the calling to power of Doumergue, "the strong man", who the bourgeoisie hopes,

will tame the masses. This fierce reactionary was co-author of the imperialistic Franco-Czarist secret treaty of 1917. He is an enemy of reform and democracy, and a professional Red-baiter.

It is doubtful in the extreme, however, that Doumergue will succeed in stifling the rebellious mood of the oppressed French masses. "Whether successful or not," writes the liberal New York World-Telegram, "this wide popular revolt and violence is the stuff of which revolution is made.... An event of this kind is never forgotten. It lights new flames of revolt which, even though smothered for a while, are likely to burst out with greater intensity later."

With open reaction in the saddle in France, however, there will be a more rapid and intensive development of French Fascist trends. L'Ami du Peuple, organ of millionaire Senator Coty, is preaching an unadulterated Hitlerian doctrine to its enormous body of discontented petty bourgeois readers. Half a dozen Fascist grouplets contend for the honor of becoming the vanguard of reaction. Money will now flow to them from the coffers of the Comité des Forges more generously than before. While the liberal press tries to center attention on the demands of the Royalists, laughing them off as silly and outmoded, Fascism, the reaction à la mode is being prepared.

To trust in such a situation to "the common sense of the French people" the democratic traditions of 1789, the parliamentary opposition of the Socialists, for the heading-off of Fascism would be as futile and deceptive as it proved to be in Germany. The Socialist Party of France continues to work to hold back the workers of the country from militant extra-parliamentary struggle. And the Communist Party of France, having learned nothing from the German catastrophe or from the steady decline in its own membership report-

ed by Piatnitsky at the recent 13th Plenum continues its sectarian, disruptive course. The two bureaucracies together manage to keep half the working class immobile while the other half throws away its energy in futile forays.

So apparent in this that the bourgeoisie indulges in complacency. The World-Telegram remarks that "there seems to be even less organization now than in the somewhat similar riots which resulted in the short-lived Red Commune of 1871." However exaggerated this statement may be, revolutionaries can draw small comfort from the recent record of the French C. P. The problem in France today is one of speed; can the real revolutionary leadership, and especially the Internationalist-Communists, organize a powerful revolutionary party more rapidly than the Fascists rally their black hundred forces? The possibility cannot be doubted. The task is posed.

The coming of Doumergue to power, it must be added, has its importance for the U. S. S. R. Under Stalin, the workers' state has placed its trust not in the forces of international revolution, but in pacts and treaties with bourgeois governments. The Stalinists have argued that Hitler's triumph was not an unmitigated evil from the revolutionary viewpoint, since "it threw Poland and France into our arms." With a fierce Communist-hunter in the saddle of France, and behind him the steel trust, whose haudy man, Tardieu, may become Doumergue's Foreign Minister, the illusory nature of Stalinist diplomacy is again exposed.

Once again it is demonstrated that only the revolutionary proletariat of France can help restrain French capitalism from launching against the Soviet Union a Franco-Russian-Polish army of intervention under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, whom Leon Trotsky long ago characterized as "the super-Wrangell" of counter revolution.

The Significance of the Taxi Strike

(Continued from page 1)

them and the companies against them.

When La Guardia saw the torrent he attempted to unload responsibility before his own bourgeois and petty bourgeois supporters and hamstringing the movement. He advised the men to affiliate with the A. F. of L. and made efforts to secure the intervention of Green himself. As a result of his "help" Gallbraith of the A. F. of L. Philadelphia Taxi-men's Union was sent to New York as general organizer of the strike.

At the same time La Guardia called in Morris L. Ernst of the American Civil Liberties Union to act as mediator. Ernst arranged a number of meetings. The fruit of his efforts was a "settlement" which said nothing about the recognition of the union, minimum wages or maximum hours. In addition the proposed distribution of the accumulated tax money was unsatisfactory. The men voted down this "settlement" and demonstrated what they thought of it on the streets against the scab drivers. But the nub of the boss strategy was the attempt to use the independents to divide the ranks. An independent is the owner-driver of

one cab. The five-cent tax question did not affect them as it went into their pockets. They are likewise indifferent to the hours and wage question. In short they are petty bourgeois individualists. Consequently they were and are eager to reap the harvest of fares that they saw when the company drivers went on strike. Terminals and piers reserved to the company cabs by contract were now inviting them to come in and render "service to the public". The independents offered to pay two dollars apiece a day into the treasury of the union if the union would agree to their working.

But the strikers saw through this scheme. They realized that if the independents were out on the streets that would be a powerful lever in the hands of the bosses to break the strike. They sacrificed the money and voted for "no cabs on the streets." And forthwith they repaired to the streets to translate the vote into reality.

It is not clear exactly how the Socialist Panken got into the strike and how he became one of its spokesmen. But one thing is certain: he is a partner to the latest perfidious sell-out arranged by La Guardia, Ernst and some people on

the Committee of Thirteen which conducted the negotiations for the strikers. The terms of this sell-out are the worst imaginable. The question of union recognition which has become the crucial one in the strike is not even mentioned. The wages and hours question is ignored. The accumulated tax money is referred to the future for distribution. The men get absolutely nothing.

Before this maneuver was put over on the men they tried to spread the strike to other sectors of transportation. They chose the bus drivers and conductors of the Fifth Ave. buses as the point of attack.

The strike has already recorded positive gains for the taxi men and the entire labor movement. It stiffened the morale of the hotel strikers, and it has helped their strike to the extent that it has made it difficult for most and impossible for some diners to reach the hotels. It has set an inspiring example of working class militancy and will undoubtedly be an impetus to other workers to struggle against their intolerable conditions. And what is of paramount importance for the taxi drivers; win or lose they will come out of this strike with a union. We are also sure of another thing. This strike of the taxi drivers will not be the last. —T. STAMM.